13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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in a small income obtained from school-teaching or functioning as a minor civil-servant after college graduation. Here again however, college life does not represent any particular break with typical Tongan activities. College youth are expected to spend part of each day working on the college plantation raising their own food-staples. During out-of-college hours they are generally associated with the households of friends or relatives in Tongatapu. Their vacations are either spent with their own households in Pangai or else working at Tongan things in Tongatapu.

In sum, Tongan schooling may not be particularly efficient; but at least the directors of Tongan education have not made the educational process an effective instrument for separating the Tongan child from the satisfactions of his own culture and equally, from the satisfactions of European culture. Education in Pangai has been allowed to gear itself into the present-day patterns of village-culture with results that are adequate in almost every respect.

The establishment of schools with the structure of a formal educational system has been one of the most effective forces in changing the culture of the villagers from primitive to folk-culture. Nevertheless it is easy to overassess the role that literacy plays in village-life. The large majority of the villagers are able to write the Tongan language. Most of them can read Tongan. To what use however, are these abilities put? As far as one can judge there is very little use made of writing except in the very occasional signing of one's name to some legal or government document. The writing of letters is infrequent. The attitude of the villager here is that everything can wait until personal contact is established, either by personal visiting or by the use of a visiting intermediary. Similarly, the use of reading-skills is very limited. Its principal use for most is that of reading such familiar material as Bible-lessons or church hymns. Children in school naturally use simple reading-texts with secular topics. With school-days far behind, however, the Bible becomes all-important and here one's ability to read is sometimes almost entirely limited to its use in reviving memory of key-words in sacred texts that are otherwise well-remembered but temporarily forgotten. Some households also possess the single-paged printed combination almanac-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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805 calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue
[213] of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use. Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to mark off one Sunday from another and this function is performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 So far we have been referring to the average villager.
[644] The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use
[793] of reading and writing than the villager. For them these techniques are necessary for the study of government or church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of their own reports. A few others in the village may also try
212 to make effective use of their reading ability. Thus a village
875 school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed
829 an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy of *Reader's Digest*. Even the simplified English of this magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. One
[554] suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on
[123] the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an English-language magazine.

212 Another villager interested in the use of his skills is
[451] Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce. He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an
212 occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. He is
177 very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he
829 has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the average villager. But this comes about from the fact that Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years. For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1831]

in villages in the central district, in places that had hitherto been hostile to Christianity. 797

Reinforcements for the Mission came on 10 March 1831. The new missionaries were Peter Turner, James Watkin, and William Woon. Peter Turner (who was not related to Nathaniel) was born in Manchester in 1802. Enthusiastic and evangelistic, he became a very popular preacher; his four years in Samoa (1835-9) made him a legend among the Wesleyans of that group. James Watkin also was born in Manchester, in 1805. He proved an able administrator in his six years' service (1831-7) and afterwards in New Zealand and Australia. A son of James Watkin, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was a missionary in Tonga for nearly 60 years (1866-1925), the last forty years as President of the Free Church which separated from the Wesleyans. William Woon was a Cornishman, born in 1803; he had been trained as a printer and he brought with him a printing press, a valuable acquisition for the Mission and a source of wonder to the people in Nuku'alofa. Woon was a competent but slow printer and a poor preacher (so Thomas noted before Woon left the Mission on 5 January 1834).(32)

On 14 April 1831, just before Nathaniel Turner left, he had the satisfaction of seeing the first books printed in Tonga, a book of 60 hymns and a four-page school-book (3000 copies). A second school-book was ready also for printing. A copy of the first hymn-book is in the National Library, Canberra, probably the only copy still in existence. Its sixty hymns are elementary efforts but it is remarkable that so many had been written and printed in less than four years after Turner and Cross came. (A copy of the 1835 school-book, eight pages, also is in the National Library, Canberra.) After Woon left the printing press was removed to Vava'u. 213

Continuous ill-health forced Nathaniel Turner to leave Tonga in April 1831. The transformation in little more than three years had been amazing indeed. Instead of failure and the projected abandonment of the Mission by John Thomas and Hutchinson in 1827, the work was now firmly established. When Nathaniel Turner left, the Mission reported 505 full members, 528 on trial (a total increase of 598 for the year); in Tongatapu there were 14 schools, 35 teachers, 953 scholars; in Ha'apai already 8 schools, 77 teachers, 1037 scholars; and 10,000 small books had been printed in Tongan and were in use in the schools. If Turner had been able to continue in Tonga, still greater success would have followed under his wise direction, and probably the grave mistakes of later years would have been avoided. General sorrow was shown by chiefs and people in Nuku'alofa on the missionary's departure. Before he left he urged the Committee to send missionaries not only to Vava'u and the Niuas but also two to Fiji.(33) In 1853 Turner had the gratification of visiting Tonga when he accompanied the deputation from the British Conference, Robert Young; and he then saw the fruit of the work that he had been compelled to leave in 1831. 797 [794] [871] 213 [212]

John Thomas, who had been stationed in Ha'apai since January 1830, succeeded Turner as Chairman of the Friendly Islands District, occupying that position until he went on furlough to England in 1850.

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missionaries, alleged that Finau's half-brother, Lualala, should have succeeded him; but he was half-Fijian and ineligible on that account, as David Cargill showed in his book.[34]

Shortly after Taufa'ahau's installation as ruler of Vava'u he was rebuked by Peter Turner and suspended from membership because he had taken some of the deceased Finau's attractive wives. This was in accordance with old pre-Christian customs but was a grave offence against Christian rules of morality and monogamy. Taufa'ahau told Turner that he had liberty to take the wives of his predecessor in the title and that, in any case, "Solomon was more guilty than he".[35] The missionaries felt that any favouritism toward Taufa'ahau would be fatal; already they noticed that some of the Vava'u people were being affected by his example. Turner wrote, "Taufa'ahau was at first offended and seemed to kick against necessary discipline".[36] Afterwards he confessed his fault and penitently asked to be readmitted to membership. When he was again a Church member he was married to Lupe Pau'u (Salote) according to Christian rites on 27 March 1834. He became a class-leader and local preacher on 9 October 1834.

An indication of the mass movement can be seen in the record of baptisms which followed many weeks of instruction. For instance, in Vava'u 240 men were baptized at one service on 25 May 1834, 213 females on 4 June, and on 18 June, 119 children of parents already baptized. The records in Ha'apai were similar. At the same time the work of translation was proceeding, and in 1834 the complete Gospel of Matthew was printed.

To cope with their expanding duties the ranks of the missionaries were augmented by the arrival of Charles Tucker, John Hobbs and David Cargill. It is strange that the names of Cargill and Tucker appeared in the British Conference Minutes in both 1832 and 1833 as appointments for Fiji but nothing was done to give effect to this.

A special District Meeting on 11 June 1834 reported that Tongan teachers had been successful in the evangelizing of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Peter Turner offered at this meeting to serve on Niua Toputapu but he could not be spared from his appointment at Vava'u. At this time the stationing in the Tonga District was —

Tongatapu:		Thomas, Cross, Hobbs.
Ha'apai	:	Watkin, Tucker.
Vava'u	:	P. Turner, Cargill.[37]

The second missionary in Vava'u resided at the inland village of Feletoa where the printing press was located after its removal from Nuku'alofa. Later, the second missionary in Ha'apai was stationed on the small western island of Tungua, the residence of the Tamaha.

Charles Tucker, an unassuming type, was born in 1808 at Horton, Glamorgan, Wales. He served for eight years, until 21 May 1841. His wife was energetic and capable; her teaching ability impressed visiting sea-captains who saw her schools.

John Hobbs arrived with Tucker on 21 June 1833. He was born in 1800 at St. Peters, Isle of Thanet, Kent. He first served in New Zealand together with Nathaniel Turner, from 1824 to 1827, and he resumed his ministry in New Zealand after leaving Tonga on 8 February 1838. He did valuable work in Tonga

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[1843 - 1850]

adopted and promulgated as their own, and not as the laws of the missionaries. This was accordingly done: and when the code was finally completed and made law the missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views." (6)

Among important features of this Code were the following:

III. 1. "No respect of persons in the trial of offenders."

III. 3. "The remuneration which the judges and officers shall have made to them by the king is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, to labour for them at their respective places."

VII. 4. "Let all know that the separating of man and wife is a difficult matter; since the marriage contract is a command of God, the minister must first marry them; but, in case of trial, and the crime proved, then the minister must pronounce them separated, in the large chapel, before all the people, even as their marriage was performed. Then the writing of divorce shall be given to the innocent party."

VIII and IX. Punishments were provided for adultery and fornication.

XI. "Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all heathen customs . . .".

XVII. Abortion "is a most disgusting crime and highly deserves punishment".

XXIX. The sale of land by anyone, chief or commoner, to any foreigner is forbidden.

Lawry wrote of the provisions of the Code of 1850:

"They are not all that we wish them to be . . . especially on the mode of paying the judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice. . . . Upon the whole, however, this movement is a grand step towards the civilization of the entire nation. . . . There is no good reason why it has been so long delayed. . . . The Statute-book is to be printed at our Mission press." (7)

While Tonga was becoming stabilized in its internal government, its relations with the outside world brought other problems, and here also the Wesleyan Mission became involved. The growing interest of foreign Powers in the Pacific Islands was beginning to affect Tonga and the maintenance of Tonga's independence loomed large in the king's mind. He and his people were very fearful of any foreign designs, real or imaginary. Indeed no Pacific Islands group has been more sensitive at this point. The L.M.S. missionaries in 1797 were plagued by the false reports of the runaway sailors who told the Tongans that the missionaries were agents of Britain who had come to take away the country. Lawry in 1822-3 was harassed by similar lies. Being sold to a foreign nation or seeing their flag hauled down (in Tongan terms) was a lurking fear which unscrupulous Europeans could manipulate, as events in later years showed.

After 1843, when France annexed Tahiti, a cold shudder passed over many lands in the Pacific. The entry of the French priests into Tongatapu gave rise to some apprehension; if they had not so often spoken of support from French warships the people's fears might soon have subsided. Tupou I realized that France had been aided in Tahiti by the divisions among Tahitian chiefs and the disloyalty of some of them to their monarch. He feared the effects of possible disunity and disloyalty in Tongatapu.

The first approach for British assistance was made by Aleamotu'a. On 19 February 1844 he sent a letter appealing for protection, to Robert FitzRoy, Governor of New Zealand, for transmission to Queen Victoria. Evidently it was sent to the Colonial Office and then to Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, but there was no reply. Its contents revealed the agitation felt by Tongan chiefs because of French policy in the Pacific. (The letter in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is signed "George of Tonga" but that signature is crossed out and "Josiah" substituted). The letter stated,